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UMAYYA IBN ABI-S SALT.

EDMOND POWER.

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BY THE

Rev. E. POWER, S. J.

Extrait des *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*
de l'Université Saint-Joseph, (Beyrouth).
I, p. 197-222.

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REV. E. POWER, S. J.

I took as the subject of my thesis for the Doctorate in Oriental Science in this University the poems of Umayya ibn Abî-ṣ Ṣalt. My intention was to publish a critical text, with notes and commentary, of such of these poems as remained to us. A discussion of their authenticity and some considerations on the personality of Umayya and his connexion with Muḥammad would naturally form the introduction. It seems, however, that such a publication would have now very little value. The most interesting and exhaustive article of Professor Schulthess (1) has not only made known to scholars where these poems are to be found, but has even given a *résumé* of their contents. Moreover, the daily-expected publication of Gâḥiẓ's *Kitâb al-Ḥayawân* will set at the disposal of everybody the chief part of such of Umayya's known poems as still remain in manuscript form. Some scattered verses, often of doubtful authenticity, and a collection of variant readings would, then, add little to present knowledge. A few brief remarks, however, on the personality of Umayya, as it manifests itself in his certainly genuine poems, may not be unwelcome. They will, at all events, be of utility in explaining the connexion between our poet and Muḥammad, and in solving the question of the authenticity of the so-called « Koranical » poems. Most, no doubt, will accept the criticism of Schulthess; but some may wish to modify it in its details, more especially as the signs of Koranical influence are not equally evident in all the poems he rejects.

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* *

In the second half of the sixth century of our era the district of the

(1) *Orientalische Studien*, p. 71-89.

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Ḥiǵâz was peopled, almost exclusively, by tribes descended from Muḍar, the most idolatrous of all the tribes of pagan Arabia. Its two chief cities and centres of worship were Mekka and Ṭâ'if (1). By one of these strange coincidences that manifest themselves so frequently in the world's history, at that time and in these cities appeared, almost simultaneously, two strenuous teachers of monotheism, Muḥammad and Umayya. Are we right in considering Umayya a religious teacher? While moral teaching entered occasionally within the sphere of pre-Islamitic poetry, it was not usual in ancient Arabia that a poet should propose to himself, as an end, the instruction of his contemporaries in sacred history and the mysteries of the seen and unseen world. True, but Umayya, like Suhail amid the planets, refused to march with the common herd (2) : and we learn from a certainly authentic fragment of his poetry, preserved to us in the unpublished manuscript of *Al-Ḥamâsat al-Baṣrîya* (3), that his originality displayed itself in end as well as in execution. These verses I subjoin as an appendix to this article. In all probability, they formed the conclusion of the famous Kâmil poem, in which Umayya described the construction of the heavens (4). It is in the last two verses that the poet manifests himself to us, not as a prophet like Muḥammad, but as a simple religious teacher, expecting a reward, only from the God whom he serves, in the

(1) Ṯaqîf, the tribe that inhabited Ṭâ'if, was probably not descended from Muḍar. Among the aristocrats, at least, the family of our poet and that of Mas'ûd ibn Mu'attib, both closely allied with Quraiš, traced their lineage to Iyâd. Cf. poetical citations in Al-Bekrî, 51 : to which add *Aḍḍâd*, 81, and *Aġânî*, III, 187 (verses of Umayya's son Rabî'a). Their geographical position and the fact that they made common cause with the Hawâzin in their wars gave genealogists a reason for considering them a branch of that clan. Since the descendants of Iyâd, however, formerly inhabited this part of the Arabian peninsula, nothing is more probable than that some should have held their ground in so strong a position and so fertile a district.

(2) *Aġânî*, II, 18.

(3) Ms. of Oriental Library, St. Joseph's University, Beyrout, II, 269. This manuscript consists of two parts, of which the first contains 249 and the second 270 pages. It contains also fragments, to be found elsewhere, of seven other poems attributed to Umayya. It is copied from the Ms. of the Khedivial Library at Cairo, for an account of which consult *Catalogue* (ed. 1301-8 H.), IV, 229.

(4) *L'A*, XII, 386.

life to come. « And, as surely as clans will forget what I say, so surely will He who is not poor remember it. Pardon, then, a servant; it is drinking and gambling, joined with amusements, that have been the beginning of his sin. »

The subject-matter of Umayya's religious teaching need not detain us long. It consists, first of all, of pious interpretations of natural phenomena such as the sun's redness in the morning (1), the moon's disappearance at the end of each month (2), the shooting stars (3), the hoopoe's tuft of feathers (4) and the white collar of the dove (5). Then we have descriptions of the throne of God (6), of the angels and their ministry (7), of the seven heavens and their construction (8), of the state of the universe before the earth's creation (9), of the condition of primitive man (10). Finally, come the poet's accounts of Biblical events like the deluge (11), Abraham's sacrifice (12), Pharaoh's discomfiture (13), and Jewish or Arabic legends such as Solomon's empire over the evil spirits (14) and the destruction of Ṭamûd (15). Let us examine now the

(1) See *Appendix*.

(2) See *Appendix*.

(3) *Al-Muḥâḍarât*, II, 369; Ǵâḥiẓ, *Kitâb al-Ḥayawân*, Ms. of Vienna 341 v., (Cf. *WZKM*, VIII, p. 67, n. 4). — My citations from this manuscript are taken from some notes which Rev. L. Cheikho S. J. has had the kindness to lend me.

(4) *Ḥayawân*, 183 v.; Ibn Qutaiba, *Book of Poets*, 279.

(5) Ps-Balḫî, III, 25; *Ḥayawân*, 212 v.; Aṯ-Ṯa'libi, *'Imâd al-Balâġa*, chap. XXXIX.

(6) Ps-Balḫî, I, 165.

(7) Ps-Balḫî, I, 169.

(8) Ps-Balḫi, II, 7; *L'A*, VI, 20; IX, 356; XII, 386; *T'A*, III, 153, 262, 339; *Muzhir*, I, 286, etc.

(9) *Ḥayawân*, 183 v.; Ibn Qutaiba, 279. The poet speaks of the « mist, darkness and thick clouds » that characterised the period when the hoopoe's mother died. We learn from Aristophanes, *Aves*, 471-5, that this was before the creation of the earth.

(10) *Ḥayawân*, 212 v.; Ps-Balḫî, III, 25; Maqrîzi, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, 160; *'Imâd al-Balâġa*, chap. LVII.

(11) Ps-Balḫî, III, 24-5; *Ḫizâna*, IV, 4; *Ḥayawân*, 212 v., etc.

(12) Ṭabarî, I, 308; *Ḫiz.*, II, 543; Ps-Balḫî, III, 65; Aṯ-Ṯa'libi, *'Arâ'is*, 82; Soiûṭî, *Ṣaw. Muġṯ*, 241.

(13) Ps-Balḫî, III, 82; *Ḥayawân*, 112 v. (Cf. *WZKM*, VIII, p. 61).

(14) *T'A*, *L'A*, *s. v.* شطن; *Naqd aš-Šiʿr*, 86; Ibn Ḍuraid, *Ištiqâq*, 228.

(15) Ps-Balḫî, III, 40; Yâqût, IV, 54; 'Ainî, IV, 377; Sirâfî (Jahn's Sîbâwaihi, I, 2, p. 29).

personal characteristics that display themselves in our poet's treatment of these varied subjects. These may, to my mind, be grouped under four heads. Umayya views God as a rewarder, and sets in relief His mercy rather than His justice; he shows considerable materialistic tendencies; he preserves interesting relics of idolatrous beliefs; and he has a great love for animals. The citations in proof of these facts shall be taken only from the undoubtedly authentic poems.

Umayya views God especially as a rewarder. Thus, in the verses that treat of Abraham's sacrifice, the poet tells us that the patriarch «fulfilled a vow in order to gain thereby a heavenly recompense» (1). The son, when about to be sacrificed, is made to say:—«Father, verily do I pray that God may reward you for your piety to Him under all circumstances» (2). Isaac, himself, is rewarded for his courage, for «God made his neck be of brass when He saw him brave among the brave» (3). Finally, God says:—«I am not displeased with what you two have done» (4). «And they bore away therefrom «says the poet» the renown of a noble deed» (5).

In the long Kâmil poem, the concluding verses of which we give in the *Appendix*, the piety of the hoopoe, who would not leave his mother without burial, is said to have been rewarded by the tuft of feathers which distinguishes him from the other birds (6). Here, too, as we have seen, the poet speaks of his own expected recompense (7). It is worth remarking that, in the latter of these passages, God is represented by the paraphrase «He who is not poor»: while, in the former, the subject of جزى is omitted, as if the very mention of reward with Umayya supposed at once God as the rewarder.

In the Wâfir poem on the deluge, we are told that the white collar of

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(1) *Arâ'is* 82, v. 1 : الموفي بنذر احتسابًا . For sense of احتسابًا, cf Lane, *s. v.*

(2) *Ḥiz.*, II, 543, v. 3 : ابقي انني جزيتك بالله تقيًّا به على كل حال.

(3) Ps-Balḫî, III, 65, v. 4 : جعل الله جيده من نحاس اذ رآه زولًا من الازوال .

(4) Ṭabarî, I, 308, v. 7 : اني للّذي قد فعلتما غير قالِ .

(5) *Ibidem*, v. 8 : فطارا منه بسمم فعال .

(6) *Ḥayawân*, 183 v., cf. especially v. 8 : فجزى بصالح حملها ولدًا.

(7) *Appendix*, v. 12.

the dove is the recompense of her fidelity (1). Here, too, the poet tells us that : —

« The most glorious God awarded the man Noah the reward of the just, in which there is no falsity,

Consisting of what his ship carried and saved, the morning sudden death came upon them » (2).

Indeed, it is especially in his poems on this subject that he praises the mercy of God « who put an end to the deluge » (3). Nowhere do we find denounced, as so frequently in the Koran, the crimes of the wicked who perished in the waters. In one verse only — and there the reading is doubtful—is God's vengeance spoken of (4). The mention of the overthrow of the nations in the same poem is obviously intended to heighten the effect produced by the description of the ark and the security of its occupants (5).

Umayya, again, in describing the enforced servitude of the angels does not forget to add that the bonds which bind them are the benefits of God (6). When he speaks of the tempter of our first parents, he seems to make a distinction between the serpent and Satan, who entered into his body, and declares that the nourishment of the former is ever the object of God's care (7). What a contrast with the malediction pronounced against the serpent in *Genesis*, III, 14, and reproduced by the christian

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(1) *Ḥayawân*, 212v., v. 6-7; Ps-Balḫî, III, 25, v. 4-5 ; *ʿImâd al-Baldâǧa*, chap. XXXIX, v. 3-4 of a four-line fragment of this poem, for a translation of which cf. *ZDMG*, VIII, p. 511.

(2) Ps-Balḫî, III, 25, v. 6-7.

(3) *Lʿ A*, *Tʿ A*, *s. v.* شرجم : وينقّد الطوفان نحن فداؤه .

(4) *Ḥiz.*, IV, 4, v. 1. But cf. *Lʿ A*, *s. v.* قدم, where it is said that God will take vengeance on the prince of evil « امير السوء » not the servants of evil « عبيد السوء » of *Ḥiz.* This reading, that of Ibn Barrî, one of the best authorities for Umayya's poetry, is confirmed by the sense تتقدّم there given to قدم. Only the rich and proud are threatened with vengeance ; and, indeed, the « prince of evil » may be simply Satan.

(5) *Ḥiz.*, IV, 4, v. 4.

(6) Ps-Balḫî, I, 165, v. 1 : كل بنعماه الاله مقيّد.

(7) *Ḥayawân*, 212v. Such, at least, seems the general sense of this badly corrupted text.

poet ʿAdî ibn Zaid in a verse that has been falsely attributed to Umayya (1) ! It may be remarked too that the poet does not disapprove of the superstitious practices by which the Arabs sought for rain in time of drought. He contents himself with laying stress on the fact that it is God who sends the rain (2). Muḥammad, on the other hand, emphatically condemns the whole proceeding (3).

The materialistic tendencies of Umayya are never more evident than when he speaks of the angels. Listen to his description of the Seraphim (4) who bear the throne of God:—« Our Lord hath girt with saddle-cloths the *beasts of burden,* each one of them bound by the munificence of God..... and on the saddles is extended a lofty throne fixed firmly on their shoulders with gems of ruby » (5). The angels keep guard in turn before the Almighty (6). Their service, in general, is a forced servitude (7). Some of them who were refractory have been tamed (8). They sustain (9) and defend (10) the heavens, which are regarded by the poet as smooth walls

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(1) *Tᶜ A*, *Lᶜ A*, *s. v.* لاط. (The verse is cited with several others of the same poem). Maqrîzî, *Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, 22 and Ǵâḥiẓ, *Ḥayawân*, 213 r. (Cf. *Mašriq*, 1904, 535-6). Schulthess (p. 78) doubts the authenticity of these verses. But, cited by so good an authority as Ǵâḥiẓ and echoing *Genesis* rather than the *Koran*, they seem to me much more probably the composition of a learned christian poet like ʿAdî ibn Zaid than that of a Mussulman interpolator.

(2) Cf. *Ḥam. Baṣ.* II, 257, v. 8 ; *Ḥayawân*, 245 v.,v. 6-7 :

فرّاها الاله توشير بالقطر واضحى جنابهير ممطورا

فسقاها نشاطه ....

(For the first verse I have taken the text of *Ḥam. Baṣ.* which is preferable).

(3) Cf. Margoliouth's *Life of Muḥammad*, p. 459, and reference there.

(4) Ps-Balḫî, I, 168 : حبس السرافيل . Umayya has assigned to the Seraphim the office of the Cherubim in the Bible, *Psalms*, XVIII, 11 ; LXXX, 2 ; XCIX, 1 ; *Eccles*, XLIX, 10.

(5) Ps-Balḫî, I, 165, v. 1-3.

(6) Ps-Balḫî, I, 169, v. 1 : في الف الف من ملائك تجشد ينتابه المتنصفون بسُخرة . For سُخرة (which I read instead of Ms. سجرة) = تسخير cf. Lane, *s. v.* The textual corrections in the first and last word are after *Mašriq*, 1904, p. 533.

(7) See preceding citation. Cf. also Ps-Balḫî, I, 168 : حبس ; *Tᶜ A*, III, 339 : مصفّدين.

(8) *Lᶜ A*, *Tᶜ A*, *s. v.* قوم : ملائك ذُلّلوا وهير صعاب .

(9) *Tᶜ A*, III, 339 : عليهير صاقورة. Cf. also citation at end of note 9 in following page : فبنى الاله عليهير مخصوفة .

(10) *Tᶜ A*, *s. v.* رقيم : ومن دون علم الغيب كل مسهّد . See also below note 2 in following page.

built around the fortress in which the Divinity dwells (1). The weapons which they make use of against the demons are the shooting stars (2). They fight battles, conquer when they assist one another, and have wings like those of ostriches which bear them along with the rapidity of the west wind (3).

Analogous tendencies may be observed, for instance, in Umayya's crude explanations of natural phenomena. The sun is red in the morning because the angels have scourged him unto blood (4). The tuft on the back of the hoopoe's head was originally his mother's tomb (5). The ring on the dove's neck was once a real collar framed « as a child's necklace is strung » (6). The Arabs, in time of drought, got rain by lighting fires on the tails of cattle which they drove up the mountain, because these fires acted as lightning, at the appearance of which rain fell(7). The poet even considers it necessary to explain God's vision of things by the presence of « streaks and colouring, and delineating marks » which He perceives though they may be invisible to us (8). Interesting, too, in this connexion, is the extraordinary manner in which he insists on the smoothness of the heavens (9).

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(1) *T'A*, III, 262; *L'A*, VI, 20; IX, 356; XII, 386; Al-'Ukbarî, *Śarḥ al-Mutanabbi*, II, 3.

فاتمّ ستّا فاستوت اطباقها واتى بسابعة فانّى تورد

The question « How shall it (the seventh heaven, God's abode) be reached? », as well as the stress laid on the smoothness of the heavens, of which we shall speak later on, reveal the poet's idea.

(2) *Ḥayawân*, 341v. (Cf. *WZKM*, VIII, p. 67); *Muḥâḍarât*, II, 369, where the text is better.

وترى شياطينهم تروغ مضافةً وزواغها صبر اذا ما تطرد

تلقى عليها في السماء مذلّة وكواكب ترمى بها فتتعرد

(3) Ps-Balḫî, I, 169.

(4) *Appendix*, v. 9-10.

(5) *Ḥayawân*, 183 v., v. 6-7 : فبقى عليها في قفاه يمهد

مهدًا وطيًا

(6) Ps-Balḫî, III, 25, v. 4 : صاغوا لها طوقًا كما عقد السخاب .

(7) *Ḥam. Baṣ.*, II, 257, v, 8 : جنابهم مطورا فرآها الاله توشر بالقطر واضحى .

Cf. also *Ḥayawân*, 245 v., v. 6.

(8) *Ḥayawân*, 183 v., v. 2-3 : اخرى على عين بما يتعهد ويكل منكرة له معروفة

جدد وتوشير ورسم علامة

(9) In Ps-Balḫî, II, 7, the first heaven is said to be smooth, like a waveless sea, in v. 1 (where we must read, سدر , اجرد , after *T'A*, III, 262 ; *L'A*, XII, 386 ; *Muḥaṣṣaṣ*, IX, 6;

Umayya is a strenuous teacher of monotheism; yet, even on him, nature-worship has left its mark. The sun and moon, if not divinities, are still possessed of reasoning power. The former refuses to rise in the morning, owing to his unwillingness to receive the adoration of idolators (1). The latter, for a similar reason, hides herself for the last two or three nights of each month: and the bright stars, lending their aid, place themselves in front of her to conceal her from the vision of her worshippers (2). The stars, in general, are beasts of burden, obedient to God their Master, (3), travelling alike day and night, and rushing to the place of

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X, 16, etc.). In v. 2 the second heaven « is even not bent » (reading تخضد for يحصد), and it is compared with glass in the next verse obviously in smoothness as well as in colour. In *T'A*, III, 339, the third heaven is compared to a crystal sea. It is the smoothness of the fourth and fifth heavens that is referred to in the difficult verse cited *T'A*, III, 153: وكأنّ رابعة لها حاقورة في جنب خامسة عناصٍ تمرد . « It seems as if the fourth heaven, the Ḥâqûra, though hairless, had little locks of hair in comparison with the fifth». That is to say, though the fourth heaven is smooth, the fifth is far more so. The surface of the heavens is described as smooth, without cracks, so that the sun slides along it, in a verse cited by Ǵauharî, I, 53; II, 505 (var. اياب) سراة صلاية خلقاء صيغت تُزِلّ الشمس ليس لها رئاب. And similarly Umayya informs us that the heavenly vault, resting on angel-shoulders, never becomes worn or bent, and that, if it were not so smooth that even the Qurâd-insect could find no hold thereon, God would destroy it and build another possessing this perfection.

والارض معقلنا وكانت آمنا فيها معاقلنا وفيها نُولَدُ
فيها تلامذة على قذفاتها حَسْرَى قياماً والفرائض تَرعدُ
فبنى الاله عليهم مخصوفةً خلقاء لا تَبْلَى ولا تتأوّد
فلو انّه يَجِدُ (Ms يخد) البرامَ لمتنها لبنى والقاها التي لا تُقْرَدُ

The verses are taken from a Ms. of the Oriental Library, St. Joseph's University, Beyrout, entitled *Śarḥ Abyât al-Iḍâḥ* by Abû'l Ḥaǵǵâǵ Yûsuf ibn Sulaimân al-Qurṭubî better known as Aś-Śantamarî al-A'lam, ff. 61 v. There seems to be no mention of this composition among the works of the writer, unless it be identical with the *Śarḥ Abyât al-Ǵumal* ascribed to him by Ḥâǵǵî Ḫalîfa, II, 627. For the author, cf. Brockelmann, I, p. 139; Ahlwardt, *Six Arabic poets*, XVIII. For معاقلنا of v. 1, Aṯ-Ṯa'libî, *'Arâ'is*, 8 gives مقابرنا and Ibn Sayyidihi, *Al-Muḫaṣṣaṣ*, XIII, 180: معايشنا. The latter also replaces by منها the second فيها.

(1) See *Appendix*, v. 10-12. The reason of the sun's unwillingness is obviously the same as that assigned to the moon in v. 10.

(2) *Ibidem*.

(3) Cf. verse cited by *L'A* and *T'A*, *s.v.* صيدق.

their setting like race-horses to their goal(1). The winds are the beasts on which the clouds ride (2) as well as the limbs or supports of the sea (3). The latter when agitated mounts upon them, so that its calmness can be indicated by saying that «its limbs abandon it». The earth also is an animal (4).

That many of the expressions, in which materialistic and analogous tendencies, as well as traces of nature-worship, are displayed, admit of a different explanation is, of course, evident. They may be merely the fruit of a poet's and, more especially, an Arabic poet's imagination. Yet, when we have made ample allowance for that important factor, it seems to me that the greater part will still remain to be accounted for only by the poet's own personal characteristics.

Umayya seems to have had a special love for animals. Nor did this point in his character escape the notice of his contemporaries, who even

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(1) Cf. *Muntaḫab Rabiʿ al-Abrâr*, Ms. of Vienna, 84 v. : —

تامل صنع ربك غير شك بعينيك كيف تختلف النجوم

فما يجرى (sic) سوابق ملجمات كما تجري ولا طير يحوم

دوابّ في النهار فما تراها ويمشي (sic) مشي ليلتها تعوم

Also the oft cited verse *TʿA*, V, 185; VII, 43, 57; *LʿA*, XII, 198; *Muḥaṣṣaṣ*, IX, 35, etc:—

واعلاق الكواكب مرسلات كخيل القرق غايتها النصاب

« And the suspended stars, sent forth like steeds in a race-course, their goal being the place where they set. »

All the lexicographers understand by قرق the game of that name. But the context (مرسلات , خيل , غاية , نصاب), the parallel passage just cited, the derivation of the word (حمص, κίρκος, *circus*), as attested by its other form قرقوس and its other meaning قاع واسم كثير الحصى, lastly the difficulty of understanding by it here the game of the same name, (in which stones have to be moved backwards and forwards until they are got into a straight line), all prove that this is another of the words by which our poet puzzled the lexicographers, and that it was employed here by him in the sense of « race-course ».

(2) *LʿA*, I, 416 : تردد والرياح لها ركاب .

(3) *TʿA*, *LʿA*, *s. v.* برقم , سدر, etc. — سَدِر = متحير , غير راشد, is an epithet of the sea when it is agitated. A propos of برقم , I do not know if it has been remarked what support De Goeje's derivation gets from such names of Syrian villages as Bikfaya = كفيا «Rock-house», Brummâna = كفرمانا «Pomegranate-house», Bḥamdûn = كفرحمدون «Ḥamdûn's house».

(4) Umayya calls it طروقة . Cf. *LʿA*, *TʿA*, *s. v.* عتر and سفد.

ascribed to him a knowledge of the language of beasts (1). To it also we may, perhaps, ascribe the legendary tales of his adventure with a serpent in one of his Syrian voyages (2), and with crows or eagles or other birds at the time of his death (3). Hence it is, too, that we have his poetry so frequently cited in the *Kitâb al-Ḥayawân* of Ǵâḥiẓ. We have already seen how frequently he employs, in describing the angels and the forces of nature, expressions borrowed from the animal world. It can be safely said, I think that in this he goes far beyond the metaphorical language of other Arabic poets. Moreover, in the four most important and certainly authentic poems of which we possess more or less lengthy fragments, special mention is made of animals. Several verses of the Kâmil poem in د are devoted to the hoopoe's act of filial piety and its reward (4). In the Wâfir poem in ب, where the deluge is described, the cock, the crow (5) and the dove find a place (6). When treating of the same subject in his Ḫafîf poem in ل the poet calls our attention to the birds, beasts of prey and elephants that cry out within the ark as it pursues its course amid the waves (7). It is in the Ḫafîf poem in را, however, that the animals take the most prominent part. Here their creation is described in no perfunctory manner (8). Four species of bovine antelopes are ennumerated (9) : and even the ass has two or, perhaps, three mentions (10). Umayya is not

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(1) *Aḡânî*, III, 188-9 : he understands the language of sheep ; *ibid.*, 192 : he understands the language of crows.

(2) *Alif-Bâ*, II, 508 ; Damîrî, II, 195, etc.

(3) *Aḡânî*, III, 192 ; *Alif-Bâ*, II, 508 ; *Aḡânî*, III, 188-9, 189-90, etc.

(4) *Ḥayawân*, 183 v., v. 5-9.

(5) Ps-Balḫî, III, 25, v. 12 ; *Ḥayawân*, 212 v., v. 2 ; *ʿImâd al-Balâḡa*, chap. LVII ; *Ḫiz.*, I, 120 ; Ibn Qutaiba, 279.

(6) Ps-Balḫî, III, 25, v. 1-5 ; *Ḥayawân*, 212 v., v. 3-7 ; *ʿImâd al-Balâḡa*, chap. XXXIX.

(7) *Ḥayawân*, 396 v.

(8) *Ḥayawân*, 397 v.

(9) *Ibidem*, v. 2 and *LʿA*, XIII, 86, where the text is better.

(10) *Ibidem*, v. 3. We may understand by Ms. صواحنًا either ضواحيًا or صواحنًا . The latter would be plural of صاحنة=صحون « kicking she-ass ». The former could mean « dwelling in the plain » and thus go with the immediately preceding نعام . Such an epithet is supported

contented with saying that God sent the ants and the locusts with other plagues on the Egyptians, but takes care to add : —« He remembered that the ants were doers of evil and that the locusts were a destructive pest » (1). The important part played by the little camel in the destruction of Ṯamûd (2) will be referred to later on. The abandonment of the little beast by his mother, in consequence of the ill-treatment she received at their hands, seems, almost, to have been, in the eyes of Umayya, the cause of all their woe. In this poem, too, the cattle, laden with 'Uśar and Sala', and driven up the mountain-side with fires lighted on their tails, are sympathetically described. « Sala' and 'Uśar are heavy and they oppress the cattle » says the poet (3).

Umayya belonged to a transition period of religious life in Arabia, when paganism was preparing to pass over into Islâm : and the man is characteristic of his epoch, as the apparent contradictions in his religious teaching show. An exalted idea of the Divinity combats with materialistic tendencies : a rigid monotheism struggles against remnants of nature and animal worship (4).

Nor can we be surprised that this teaching was a failure, as, indeed, the poet himself foresaw (5).

The aspect of the Divinity which he loved to exhibit was not likely to produce a very vivid impression on the gross minds of the idolatrous Arabs. He himself, as far as we can see, was neither soldier nor statesman. He gathered together no powerful partisans and made no appeal to arms.

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by the proverb given in *L'A*, XIII, 61, *s. v.* تعامر ; من يجمع بين الاروى والتعامر applied to him who tries to unite things that are incompatible with one another.

(1) *Ḥayawân*, *in WZKM*, VIII, p. 61 : وان الجراد كان ثبورا ذكر الذرّ انه يفعل الشرّ, which Van Vloten translates : « Er machte die Ameise Bœses thun und die Heuschrecke zur Zerstœrung ». But would not such a rendering require يكون instead of كان in the second hemistich ?

(2) Ps-Balḫî, III, 40.

(3) *Ḥam. Baṣ.*, II, 257, v. 6 ; *Ḥayawân*, 245 v., v. 8 ; Damîrî, I, 170, v. 5 ; Ǵauharî, II, 220, v. 5 ; *L'A*, XIII, 516, v. 5, etc :

سلم ما ومثله عشر ما عائل ما وعالت البيقورا .

(4) This expression is justified, if not by Umayya's frequent mention of animals in his religious poetry, at least by reference to the sacred camel (ناقة للاله , Ps-Balḫî, III, 40, v. 2) in the story of the destruction of Ṯamûd.

(5) *Appendix*, v. 12.

He effected no conjunction of patriotism and religion, no oblivion of tribal factions in a common confederacy for dominion. He was, moreover, too sincere to lay claim to a gift of prophecy which he did not possess. He must have, however, at least, prepared the way for a more illustrious rival. May he also be regarded, in some degree, as the inspiring angel, the *Gabriel* of Muḥammad? In order to deserve this appellation, he must have previously treated of Koranical subjects in his poems, and these poems must have come to the knowledge of, and been utilized by the author of the Koran.

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We have already spoken, in general, of the subject-matter of Umayya's poetry, and we refer the reader to the most interesting article of Professor Schulthess in the *Orientalische Studien* for further information as to its contents and the sources from which the poet has drawn. The Arabic authors agree in celebrating his learning and, especially, his knowledge of Biblical history and Jewish legends (1). All that it is necessary for our purpose to remark here is, that the fragments of his poems which remain to us amply confirm this tradition. Umayya, then, certainly treated of Koranical subjects. Did he treat of them before Muḥammad? It seems most probable that he did, though we have no absolutely conclusive evidence in the matter.

The period of Umayya's birth is unknown: but his death occurred some time between the second and the ninth years of the Hegira (2). His elegy on the slain at Badr in the former year and the fact that we hear

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(1) *Aġâni*, III, 187; Ibn Ḥaǵar, I, 261; Ibn Qutaiba, 279; *Ḥiz.*, I, 121; *Alif-Bâ*, II, 508, etc.

(2) The historians Abû'l-Fidâ', I, 137; Diârbakrî, *Al-Ḫamis*, I, 412; Ibn Al-Wardî, I, 117, and others assign his death to the former date. For the latter, cf. Ibn Ḥaǵar, I, 262; *Ḥiz.*, I, 121, etc.

nothing of him at the capture of Ṭâ'if in the latter confirm this assertion of the historians. In their disaccord as to the precise date, and in the absence of other proofs, we had better make no attempt to come to a decision on the point. As for his age, a verse preserved in one of the Mss. of the *Ḥamâsa* of Abû Tammâm, and forming part of the poem in which he complains of his son's ingratitude, tells us that he was then close on his sixtieth year (1). The intimate relations that existed between him and Ibn Ǵud'ân seem to couple him with the generation that preceded Muḥammad (2). But the illustrious Taimite was also panegyrised by Ḥuṭai'a, who was still alive under the Umayyad dynasty (3). A tradition, cited by Ibn Ḥaǵar (4), tells us that Umayya despaired of obtaining the gift of prophecy for two reasons. Firstly, the chosen one was to be a Quraišite, and secondly he was to receive his mission at the age of forty. The giving of the second reason implies that the originator of this tradition considered Umayya over forty at this period and, consequently, older than Muḥammad. The same author goes on to tell us that Umayya, when invited to become a disciple of the prophet, replied that he would become the laughing-stock of the women of Ṭâ'if if he gave up his own claims in favour of a youth (غلام) of the Quraiš. This implies, at least, that our poet's position as a religious teacher was well established before the appearance of his rival. The conclusion is confirmed by the fact that, while Muḥammad was more than forty years of age when he commenced his prophetic career, the poetic inspiration of Umayya can hardly have been of such tardy growth. Indeed, the supposition, that the bulk of his

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(1) Ms. Goth., 532, f° 17r., where the poet says: ولم يأتني من سنّ ستّون كُمّلُ. Unfortunately the authenticity of this poem is doubtful. Cf. Freytag, *Ḥamâsa* (Arabic text), p. 354.

(2) *Aǧâni*, VIII, 2-5, etc.

(3) Cf. Goldziher, *ZDMG*, 1892, p. 31. The poem (*ZDMG*, 1893, p. 82) is also attributed to Umayya himself: but the third verse

كلّ امرٍ ينوبُ عَبسًا جَميعًا أنتَ فيه المُطامُ فيما تقولُ :

shows that either the panegyrist or the panegyrised was of the tribe of ʿAbs. That the verses were addressed to Ibn Ǵud'ân, however, rests solely on the Scholiast's authority.

(4) I, 262-3. The general falsity of the substance of these traditions does not, of course, deprive them of their value in fixing the age of Umayya, as it appeared to those who had means of knowing it that we do not possess.

religious poetry was composed in the last ten or fifteen years of his life, would be very gratuitous. The manner, in which some of his verses are cited in the *Muḥâḍarât*, shows also that they were considered anterior to the Koran (1). On the whole, then, we seem perfectly justified in concluding that Umayya's religious teaching belonged to an earlier period than that of Muḥammad.

In discussing the question as to whether Muḥammad was or was not influenced by the poetry of Umayya, we must not forget that our poet's native city was only a day and a half's journey from Mekka. There lived his maternal relations, the Umayyad merchants, in whose company he made journeys into Syria, if tradition is to be believed (2). There, too, lived 'Abdallah ibn Ǵud'ân, his patron and friend, in whose honour most of his non-religious verses were composed. Umayya's poetry, then, must have been frequently heard in Mekka. Let us consider, on the other hand, Muḥammad, himself uneducated, about to compose a Koran, which was to treat largely of those matters which formed Umayya's favourite theme. He would, certainly, have been a stranger to the ability which distinguished him, if he made no attempt to utilize our poet's learning and to seize the inspiration within his grasp. The fact, that he sometimes asked others to recite Umayya's poetry (3), shows a desire to increase his knowledge much more than a total ignorance of it. The accounts given of the supposed interview between Muḥammad and the poet's sister are of no worth (4). The words of the latter are so evidently a later fabrication (5) that we are forced to form a similar conclusion as to the part played by

(1) *Muḥâḍarât*, II, 369.

(2) *Prairies d'or*, I, 136, 139; *Aġâni*, III, 190, 191, etc. We learn from Aṯ-Ṯa'libî, *'Arâ'is*, 208 and Al-Ḥâzin, *Tafsîr*, II, 177, that Umayya visited certain kings shortly before Badr: and Ṭabarî, I, 1121 preserves to us a verse he is supposed to have addressed to Heraclius. A connexion with Syria, thus supported by tradition, is hard to be denied in the case of Umayya, inhabitant of the trading town of Ṭâ'if and closely allied with the Umayyads.

(3) Damîrî, II, 195; *Ḥiz.*, I, 120; Ibn Ḥaǵar, I, 261; Ibn Qutaiba, 279; *Aġâni*, III, 190; *'Iqd*, III, 123.

(4) Cf. *'Arâ'is*, 208; Damîrî, II, 441; *Alif-Bâ*, II, 508

(5) She gives a legendary account of the poet's death and recites some of his spurious verses to Muḥammad. No wonder the latter showed no previous knowledge of them.

the former. All that we can safely conclude from such an interview, if it ever took place, is that Muḥammad was well acquainted with Umayya's poetic fame.

While we have ground for supposing that a certain influence was exercised by Umayya's poetry on the author of the Koran, it must be admitted that the fragments of that poetry which remain to us offer no confirmation of such an hypothesis. There is no Koranical narrative that displays undoubted traces of our poet's handiwork. One might, indeed, cite the story of «The Seven Sleepers» (1). Poetical treatment and the love of animals peculiar to Umayya would well explain the seemingly objectless presence of the dog in the unskilfully copied version of Muḥammad. But, the fact that *Ar-Raqîm* is made to fill exactly the place occupied by كلبهم in the Koran, shows that the verse was simply fabricated to support one of the many explanations of that difficult word. We have a similar forgery, made with a similar object, in Abû 'Ubaida's definition of the black and white threads (2). The conversion of falling stars into missiles, with which the demons are pelted (3), accords well with the pious and, at the same time, naïve interpretation of natural phenomena that distinguished the teaching of Umayya. We cannot be sure, however, that the poet did not, in this instance, draw from a source to which Muḥammad also had access. The oven of the deluge admits of a similar explanation. It appears twice in the Koranical narrative (4) : and in four poems, in which Umayya speaks at length of the deluge, it is mentioned either expressly or implicitly (5). It probably owes its origin, as Halévy suggests, to a Rabbinical

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(1) Cf. Umayya's verse, *Kaṣṣâf*, I, 722; Baiḍâwî, I, 555 and *Koran*, XVIII, 8 : الرقيم, 17 : كلبهم باسط ذراعيه بالوصيد .

(2) *L*ᶜ*A*, *T*ᶜ*A*, *s. v.* خيط; Ṣoiûṭî, *Itqân*, 159. Cf. *Koran*, II, 183. The commentator might have found a genuine support for his explanation of the two threads in Labîd (ed. Brockelmann, 64) where the poet says he reached his destination in the early morning :— قبل تبيّن الالوان .

(3) *Ḥayawân*, 341 v.; *Muḥâḍarât*, II, 369. Cf. *Koran*, XXXVII, 7-10 ; LXVII, 5 ; LXXII, 8-9.

(4) *Koran*, XI, 42; XXIII, 27.

(5) Expressly in the third and fifth verses cited by Ps-Balḫî, III, 24. Implicitly, Ps-

legend (1). That Muḥammad borrowed this feature of the deluge story from Umayya is rendered less probable by their otherwise different manner of treating that great event (2).

A still more remarkable instance of independant treatment is to be found in their versions of the destruction of Ṯamûd. The Koranical account of this event is manifold (3); but it contains one element never absent, the personality of Ṣâliḥ, and another element present in three of the longer versions (4), a party of the Ṯamûdites who hearkened to the advice of Ṣâliḥ and were saved with him. These two elements represent, naturally enough, Muḥammad and his followers, and, consequently, have no reason to appear in Umayya's version (5). The fact that the latter makes a servant-maid escape, expressly in order to tell the tale (6), shows that he did not contemplate the existence of a Ṣâliḥ, who would perform this duty so natural for and even incumbent on him. Umayya, too, brings a new element into the story, the little camel deprived of his mother and calling upon the Ṯamûdites the wrath of heaven (7). This is a good instance of poetical treatment and the love of animals which distinguished him. It is worth remarking that the main features of the legend, the destruction of the Ṯamûdites for their impiety (8), and the deed of the ill-starred Aḥmar (9), are referred to by pre-Islamitic poets in a

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Balḫî, III, 25, in the word شعار of the second last verse, and *Ḥiz.*, IV, 4, v. 5 in the word دخان, the fire and smoke proceeding from the oven or furnace.

(1) *Journal Asiatique*, Janv.-Fév. 1905, p. 141. Cf. Talmudic legend which says that the hot springs near Tiberias are remnants of the eruptions of the deluge.

(2) Muḥammad emphasises God's justice in destroying, Umayya His mercy in saving. See above p. 201.

(3) *Koran*, VII, 71-77; XI, 64-71; XXVI, 141-159; XXVII, 46-54; LIV, 23-31; XCI, 11-15.

(4) *Koran*, VII, 73; XI, 69; XXVII, 46. Only once (XCI, 14) is it expressly stated that they were *all* destroyed.

(5) Ps-Balḫî, III, 40.

(6) *Ibid.*, v. 8.

(7) *Ibid.*, v. 5-7. « He prayed a prayer, and the prayer of the little camel against them was : — « May they be utterly destroyed ! » — As the utterance of the little camel is expressed in words, I read دعا دعوة rather than رغا رغوة, the Ms. دعا رغوة leaving us free to read one or the other.

(8) Labîd, (ed. Brockelmann), 25. Cf. also ʿAdî ibn Zaid in *Šuʿarâʾ an-Naṣrâniya*, 471.

(9) Zuhair's *Muʿallaqa*, (ed. Hausheer), 22.

manner which shows that they were well known. Umayya and Muḥammad fill in the outlines of the picture each after his own fashion (1).

There is another connexion between Muḥammad and Umayya about which we are better informed. The Arabic historians are unanimous in asserting that the latter remained to the end an open enemy of the former (2). The cause of this enmity would be two-fold for Umayya, his rivalry in teaching and his alliance with the Quraiś. His sympathy with the Banî Asad and the other Quraiśites, who fell fighting against Muḥammad at Badr, is evidenced by his elegies, in one of which, according to the testimony of Ibn Ḥiśâm, he attacked the prophet's companions (3). We find, moreover, in the extant poetry attributed to Umayya, two verses which seem to contradict Koranic doctrine, and that, in reproducing peculiar Koranical expressions. *T*^{c}*A*, *s. v.* قصّ gives the following verse as by our poet: وكيف يقفو بلا سهل ولا جدد قالت لاخت له قصيه عن جنب (4). The verse must be set beside *Koran*, XXVIII, 10: وقالت لاخته قصيه فبصرت به عن جنب (5). The reference is to the directions given by the mother of Moses to his sister, when she had placed him in the Nile, as she had been ordered to do (6). The similarity of expression, the fact that قصّ, like its synonym قفا, is properly used of following the foot-prints of somebody, and the question as to how one might follow foot-prints where there was no ground to receive them, that is, in the water, make it possible that this verse is part of a

(1) It is noteworthy that Umayya's verses on the plagues of Egypt, (cf. *Ḥayawân*, in *WZKM*, VIII, p. 61 and *'Arâ'is*, 166) which probably formed part of this poem, also show independent treatment. Of the four plagues mentioned by Umayya, only two, the drought and the locusts, those most commonly experienced and most sensibly felt in the East, are given by Muḥammad, who adds several others (*Koran*, VII, 127, etc.). Both Al-Ǧâḥiẓ and Aṯ-Ṯa'libî call special attention to our poet's mention of the ant plague.

(2) Cf. *Aġânî*, III, 187; *Ḥiz.*, I, 121, where Muḥammad forbids the recitation of his Badr elegy. He died an unbeliever: Ibn Ḥaǧar, I, 264; *Aġânî*, III, 192; Al-Ḫâzin, *Tafsir*, I, 29, etc.

(3) *Sîrat ar-Rasûl*, 532.

(4) « She said to his sister, ' Follow him at a distance '; and how will she follow the track where there is no ground rough or smooth ? »

(5) « And she said to his sister, ' Follow him ' ; and she gazed on him from a distance . »

(6) *Koran*, XXVIII, 6.

satire on the Koran. Again, Ǵâḥiẓ in his *Kitâb al-Buḫalâ'*, p. 236, as well as *T*ᶜ*A* and *L*ᶜ*A*, *s. v.* عصر, give the following verse of Umayya's famous poem on Paradise: ولا اقوات اهلهم المسوم ولا يتنازعون عنان شرك (1). In the Koran, LII, 23 we find, with equal reference to the blessed, the words: يتنازعون فيها كأسًا (2). Thus we have a second contradiction of Koranical doctrine and the employment, in its more usual and proper sense, of a word, which, in the similar Koranical context, is used in a rare sense capable of being misinterpreted (3). Accordingly, it seems fair to regard this verse also as a possible instance of an attack on the Koran. It is evident that both of these seeming contradictions can be otherwise explained (4). We give them only for what they are worth. They at least show what kind of treatment Koranical teaching and Koranical expressions would be likely to receive at the hands of Umayya. On the other hand, to turn into verse, without any notable alteration or expression of disapprobation, the contents of the Koran, using even its very language, would be the best way of spreading the teaching of Muḥammad, and would thus be the work, not of his foe, but of his friend.

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The spuriousness of some of the poetry attributed to Umayya is proved by its frequent reproduction of Koranical expressions. Obviously our poet could have no possible motive for a servile imitation of the very words of the author of the Koran and vice versa. Such a procedure would be fatal to the imitator, since it would manifest, as source of knowledge in

(1) « And they pull not the reins of partnership, nor is the food of their people pieces of hard, dry bread.»

(2) « Handing around a cup to one another therein. » The partnership, implied by this expression, is denied by Umayya.

(3) « Snatching a cup from one another » is a possible rendering.

(4) The former verse would be part of a Koranical commentary. The difficulty in the Koran is there propounded as a question, to which we should perhaps find an answer in the following verses, if we had them. The resemblance and contradiction, in the second case, are too slight to suggest any necessary connexion between that verse and the Koran They are, more probably, purely accidental.

the one case, and of inspiration in the other, that which each would be most anxious to disavow. Besides, we can scarcely suppose in Muḥammad so great a familiarity with Umayya's verses, or, in Umayya, so precise a knowledge of the Koran, as would render such a similarity of expression possible. Indeed, it would be an absolute impossibility for the author of the Koran to scatter broadcast into Sûras, written at long intervals, expressions taken from any single poem (1). We have remarked above how unlikely our poet would be to versify and disseminate Koranical doctrine without submitting it to any change or modification. Only a later writer, thoroughly familiar with the language and sentiments of the Koran, would naturally reproduce its very expressions in his religious poetry. When, however, the ideas set forth in the verses attributed to our poet are to be called «Koranical», is a different question; and the answer to it may vary with the individual. It is for this reason that, while quite in accord with the spirit of Schulthess's criticism (2), I should feel inclined to modify some of its details. Such a modification will, in some cases, confine itself to an attempt to distinguish the later importation from the genuine stock on which it has been grafted, and the existence of which Schulthess himself admits (3).

In the first place, the four verses on the deluge (Ps-Balḫî, III, 24) seem to me to have every claim to authenticity. The deluge, if a Koranical subject, is admittedly a favourite one with Umayya also, and his treatment of it here is exactly similar to his treatment of it elsewhere. Noah's salvation in recompense for his goodness (4), the oven (5), the terrible voyage (6), and the landing on the mountain (7) are all to be found in

(1) For instance, the nine verses in Ps-Balḫî, II, 146 contain expressions to be found in three times that number of Koranical sûras, and the same may be said of the six-line poem given at p. 209 of Aṭ-Ṭa'libî's *'Ard'is*, where, by the way, the Koran (XIX, 83, 95) is expressly cited in the third verse : يوم نأتيه مثل ما قال فردًا .

(2) *Orientalische Studien*, p. 76-8.

(3) *Ibidem*, p. 78, near end of page.

(4) Cf. Ps-Balḫî, III, 25, v. 6-7 ; 24, v. 2 ; Al-Bekrî, 219.

(5) See citations given above p. 212, note 4.

(6) Cf. *Asâs al-Balâġa*, I, 82; *Ḥayawân*, 396 v.; *Ḥiz.*, IV, 4.

(7) Cf. *Ḥiz.*, IV, 4, v. 6 ; Al-Bekrî, 219, where المهبطه (cf. اهبط here) is obviously to be preferred to the corrupt لشيعته of Ps-Balḫî, III, 24, v. 2.

the other poems in which our poet treats of that subject. There are no expressions peculiar to the Koran except فار التنور, which, as we have seen, is still more peculiar to Umayya. The sole reason, then, for condemning these verses is that they are in the same rhyme and metre as the spurious verses on the destruction of Sodom (1). Rhyme and metre, however, form no necessary connexion between two fragments that treat of different subjects. Besides, there is a decided metrical difference between these two fragments, to which I should like to call attention.

It may be seen, from a perusal of the verses given in the *Appendix*, that the style of Umayya's poetry is diffuse and flowing. It is thus that, following a more genuine inspiration, he often sets aside that rule of Arabic poetry which would make the sense end with the verse (2). The same tendency shows itself in his use of the Ḫafîf metre, where the first half-verse, in most cases, ends in the middle of a word. The elegy on the Banî Asad was, on this account, even considered faulty in metre (3). Now, the fact that this cæsura is found in two of the four verses in question, while it is not found in any one of the seven verses on the destruction of Sodom (4), ought to be sufficient to differentiate these two poems as far as metre is concerned.

The Wâfir poem, rhyming in م, which treats of hell and paradise (5),

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(1) Yâqût, III, 59; Ps-Balḫî, III, 58; Qazwînî, *Aṯâr al-Bilâd*, 135. Cf. also *Orientalische Studien*, p. 78 *g*.

(2) Cf. especially the verses on the hoopoe, *Ḥayawân*, 183 v.; *Appendix*, v. 5-8. Also Ps-Balḫî, I, 165, v. 2-3 and v. 6-7 (where جديرا بالبنآء الأعلى should be translated « worthy of the most lofty building »); III, 25, v. 10-11; *Śuʿarâʾ an-Naṣrânîya*, 221 (end of page), v. 2-3, 6-7.

(3) Ad-Dumâmînî, *Al-ʿUyûn al-fâḫira al-ḡâmiza ʿalâ ḫabâyâ ar-râmiza*, 90. It is not, of course, meant to be implied by the above remarks that the presence of this cæsura in the Ḫafîf metre is peculiar to Umayya, but that its absence from his poetry, in a marked degree, would be surprising.

(4) The same is true of the certainly spurious six-line poem in *ʿArâʾis*, p. 209 and of the four doubtful verses on the poet's own death (*Prairies d'or*, I, 138; *Aḡânî*, III, 190, etc.).

(5) Ps-Balḫî, I, 202. Cf. also ʿAinî, II, 346. The lexicons *s. v.* شرم, وزير, حتم, تغنّث, عسم, فاه, ساهرة, حفض; *Muntaḫab Rabîʿ al-Abrâr*, Ms. of Vienna, 16 v.; *Ǵamhara*, 8; *Itqân*, 154, 161; Ǵâḥiẓ, *Buḫalâʾ*, 236, etc. add verses and help to correct text.

seems to me to be largely authentic, but to contain an interpolation, namely v. 14-21 of the poem as given by Ps-Balḫî (1). The spuriousness of these verses is clearly demonstrated by the striking Koranical parallels. This makes it all the more remarkable that the rest of the poem, as preserved to us by Ps-Balḫî, ʿAinî, Ġâḥiẓ, Ġauharî, *TʿA*, *LʿA*, etc., possesses few or no echoes of the Koran. There, too, we may observe strange words or meanings of words (2), a well-known peculiarity of the poetry of Umayya. To this we may add the local colour evidenced by the mention, among the joys of paradise, of all the fruits for which Ṭâʾif, Umayya's native place, was so remarkable (3). Still more noteworthy is the «wheat cut down in the places where it grew» (4). How much this latter element of food appealed to the Ṭâʾifite Umayya may be seen from his satirical verses on and subsequent panegyrics of ʿAbdallah ibn Ġudʿân (5). Again, we have hell compared to a sea of fire (6), a comparison not found in the Koran but figuring in another poem of Umayya (7), about which we shall speak later on. We have also the race-course metaphor (8), a favourite one with our poet (9). Since Umayya wrote verses on hell and paradise (10), and in this rhyme and metre, to judge from some certainly genuine ones preserved to us by authorities like Sîbawaihi, Gauharî and Ġâḥiẓ, why should we not conclude that these are they? It is worth

(1) See above, p. 216, n. 5.

(2) Cf. the words cited in note 5 of preceding page.

(3) Ps-Balḫî, I, 202, v. 11-12.

(4) *Ibidem*, v. 10 : وقمح في منابته صريم .

(5) Ḥalabî, I, 173 ; Ibn Ḥiśâm, 369 ; *Śuʿarâʾ an-Naṣrânîya*, poem at end of p. 221, v. 7.

(6) Ps-Balḫî, I, 202, v. 5 ; *Muntaḫab Rabîʿ al-Abrâr*, 16 v., v. 3.

(7) *Śuʿarâʾ an-Naṣrânîya*, 226, v. 11.

(8) Ps-Balḫî, I, 202, v. 22. The text is perhaps corrupt : but الق stands for, not one of the houries, nor yet the wine-cup, but غاية or جنة, the only term allowed by the context. تقبلهم, if not corrupt, has this word as subject ; and the being dispensed from fasting follows the arrival in paradise, the end of this life's suffering. Translate, then : —«When they reach that (namely the goal or garden) to which they have been made to run, it receives them, and the faster is dispensed from his fast ».

(9) See above p. 205, note 1 ; cf. also *Ḥiz.*, I, 120, v. 3, where the reading مجرانا as against مجيانا of *Aġânî*, III, 190 is supported by the context and by Sîbawaihi (ed. Derenbourg), I, 385 and ʿAinî, IV, 412.

(10) *Alif-Bâ*, II, 508 ; *Prairies d'or*, I, 137, etc.

remarking that only in Ps-Balḫî does the undoubtedly genuine verse وفيها لحم ساهرة وبحر وما ظاهروا به لهم مقيم precede the interpolation, and thus preserve its proper and original position. The mention of the meats comes naturally after the description of the fruits and bread, and should not be separated from it by verses that treat of quite a different kind of pleasures. Some transcribers thought it better to let the greater part of the interpolation precede this verse (1). Some again fused its second hemistich into one with the first hemistich of an interpolated verse (2). The difference of opinion as to its position, which these traditions manifest, seems to me to strengthen the proofs of interpolation in this poem.

There does not seem to me to be much reason for doubting the authenticity of the Basîṭ poem in ب, at least as it appears in the *Ḫizâna*, I, 120. The reference to the sect of the Ḥanîfites, whom Umayya is known to have celebrated in his verses, is certainly in its favour. The third verse with its « نبي منا » is, in my mind, the only one which is calculated to raise any doubts. The personal nature of the demand, however, that each one might learn the length of his own life, information which he could not so easily ask of a stranger, seems to justify the expression. Nor would a Mussulman interpolator be likely to assign this as a reason for, or object of Muḥammad's mission. Indeed, the proper parallel for this and the immediately following verses is to be found, not in the Koran, but in Psalm XXXIX, 5-6, where the Psalmist begs God to inform him of the length of his days, and then goes on to say that he knows well himself how short they are. The possibility of a connexion between this poem and the Koran does not seem to be strengthened by the supposed « Voraussetzung der ursprünglichen zweimæligen Ṣalât » (3) in the first verse. By praising God morning and evening is meant simply praising Him all day long, at all times, as is proved by the second hemistich, where the reason for this praise is given in similar terms. Needless to say,

(1) ʿAinî, II, 347; Al-Ḥuḍârî's, *Ḥâšiyat to the Alfiyat*, I, 221.

(2) *Prairies d'or*, I, 137; Ibn ʿAqîl's *Commentary to the Alfiyat* (ed. Cairo, 1279 H.), p. 103; *TʿA*, IX, 405; *LʿA*, XIV, 272; XVII, 422.

(3) *Orientalische Studien*, p. 78 *k*.

God bestows his blessings on us, not twice a day, but continually. Morning and evening, as the two extremes, include all that is between them. We have a precisely similar mode of expression employed by Umayya when he calls his patron Ibn Ǵud'ân «a friend whom neither morning nor evening finds a stranger to noble qualities»(1). The scholiast, it is true, finds an express reference to the raid in the morning and the hospitality in the evening : for which he is rightly censured by Freytag, since it is much more natural to suppose that Ibn Ǵud'ân is thus represented as invariably noble and good than to see in these words such a far-fetched allusion (2). As for the opposition between *kâfir* and *îmân* (3), we are told in the first verse of the poem on the battle of the Elephant that it is only the *kafûr* who doubts the signs of God (4). From this to a juxtaposition of *kâfir* and *îmân* the passage is easy and has no need of being bridged over by the Koran.

As regards the two poems in *Śu'arâ'an-Naṣrânîya* p. 226-7, that derive their origin from a Mosul manuscript, it is more difficult to come to a decision. The Koranical parallels are not very striking, especially if we take into account the religious nature of the poems. I must confess to not understanding why the idea of the mortality of creatures should be considered so peculiarly Koranical as to inevitably arouse suspicion (5). The same idea is to be found in the first verse of the undoubtedly genuine fragment given in the *Appendix*, as well as in the fifth and sixth verses of the Basîṭ poem, of which I have just tried to establish the authenticity, and in some other possibly, though not certainly, genuine verses attributed to Umayya (6). In the shorter of these two poems we may remark, moreover, the reference to hell as a sea of fire (7) and stars as missiles (8): both

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(1) *Śu'arâ' an-Naṣrânîya*, p. 220, v. 3. عن الخلق الجميل ولا مساءُ . خليل لا يغيره صباح

(2) *Hamasae Carmina*. Pars Posterior, II, 654.

(3) *Orientalische Studien*, p. 78 *k*.

(4) *Śu'arâ' an-Naṣrânîya*, p. 229, v. 1: لا يماري فيهن الا الكفور.

(5) *Orientalische Studien*, p. 77 *c*.

(6) *Hiz.*, I, 119, v. 1-3. Cf. also the verses composed on his deathbed, *Aġânî*, III, 192, etc.

(7) *Śu'arâ' an-Naṣrânîya*, p. 226, v. 11; cf. Ps-Balḫî, I, 202, v. 5.

(8) *Ibidem*, v. 4: مراميها اشدّ من النصال . Cf. *Muḥâḍarât*, II, 369.

of which doctrines are elsewhere propounded by our poet. In the longer, the celebration of the throne of God and the angels (1), both favourite topics with Umayya, and the double occurrence of the so-called poetical fault (2), to which we have referred above as frequent in his poetry, are worthy of notice. On the other hand, it must be confessed that both poems appear less rude and ancient than other undoubtedly genuine fragments of his religious poetry. Yet, a similar difference may be observed between some of his non-religious poems (3). Such a variety of poetical style finds its counterpart in the apparent contradiction which characterised his religious teaching. Both find their explanation in, and lend additional interest to the personality of him, who, animated by the hope of a future reward, strove by his religious verses to raise up the minds of his idolatrous contemporaries to higher things.

APPENDIX

Extract from *Al-Ḥamâsat al-Baṣrîya*, Ms. of St Joseph's University, Beyrout, II, 269.

وقال امية بن ابي الصلت

حيا وميتا لا ابا لك انمـا طول الحياة كزاد غاد ينفد
والشهر بين هلاله ومحاقه اجل لعلم الناس كيف يعدد
لا نقص[4] فيه غير ان خبيئةً[5] قمر وسَاهُورٌ يسل ويغمـد
خرق يهيم كهاجع في نومه لم يقض ريب نعاسه فيهجد
فاذا مَرَتْهُ ليلتان وراءه[6] فقضى سراه او كراه يسأد

(1) *Śu'arâ' an-Naṣrânîya*, 227-8 passim. Cf. also *Appendix*, note to translation of v. 8.

(2) *Ibidem*, v. 14-15, 28-29.

(3) Contrast, for instance, the two poems on Ibn Ǵud'ân, (*Śu'arâ' an-Nasrânîya* p. 220 and 222). The delicacy of the former is rendered all the more remarkable by the fact that it is the earlier of the two, the latter having been composed at Ibn Ǵud'ân's death.

(4) Ms. : نقض .

(5) *T'A*, II, 286; *L'A*, VI,'50; XII, 386: خبيئة ; Ǵauharî, I, 336: جبينه .

(5) Ms. : وراثه .

لواعد تجرى النجوم امامـــه ومُعَمَّمٌ بجذائهن مسوّد
مستخفيا وبنَاتُ نعش حوله وعن اليمين اذا يغيب الفرقد
حال الدرارى دونـــه فتجنه لا ان يراه كل من يتلدّد
والشمس تطلع 1 كل اخر ليلة حمراء 2 يصبح 3 لونها يتورد 4
ليست بطالعة لهم 5 في رسلها 6 الا 7 مُعَذَّبَةٌ 8 والا 9 تُجلَدُ
لا تستطيع بان تقصر ساعة وبذاك تداب يومهـا وتشرد
ولسوف ينسى ما اقول معاشرٌ ولسوف يذكره الذى لا يزهد
فاغفر لعبد ان اول ذنبـــه شرب وايسار يشاركها دد

«Living and dead! Length of life, in very truth (10), resembles only a traveller's provision-store that is consumed :

And, that men may know how it is to be measured, between the new moon and the end of the month is a fixed period.

There is no deficiency in the moon ; but a hidden thing is she and the envelope from which she is drawn and in which she is sheathed.

Bewildered, she wanders about like a sleeper in his slumber, who has not satisfied the need of his drowsiness and who slumbers on.

And, while two nights behind her drive her on, and she puts an end to her night-journeying or her drowsiness, marching along

By appointed stages, (the stars hastening before her and opposite them their crowned chief

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(1) *Ḥiz.*, I, 121 ; Ps-Balḫî, II, 22: تصبح .
(2) *ʿIqd*, III, 123: فجرار.
(3) *Aġâni*, III, 191: معالم ; Ps-Balḫî, *l. c.*: تضحى .
(4) *Aġâni*, *l. c.*: متورد ; Ps-Balḫî, *l. c.*; *ʿIqd*, *l. c.*: يترقد.
(5) *Aġâni*, *l. c.*: تأبى فلا تبدو لنا ; Ps-Balḫî, *l. c.*; Damîrî, II, 194: تأبى فما تطلع لنا ; *ʿIqd*, III, 123, 157 : تأبى فما تطلع لهم .
(6) *ʿIqd*, *l. c.*: وقتها .
(7) Ps-Balḫî, *l. c.*: اما .
(8) Ibn Qutaiba, 280: معذبة (a preferable vocalisation, though that of the Ms. may be defended by understanding وهي after the first الا) .
(9) Ps-Balḫî, *l. c.*: اما .
(10) For this rendering of لا ابا لك, cf. Nœldeke, *Fünf Moʿallaqât*, III, 35. See also Fischer in *Orientalische Studien*, p. 50, note 1, and reference there given.

In disguise, with *Banât Na'ś* around her and *Al-Farqad* on her right hand, when she is hidden,)

The bright stars come in front of her and conceal her, that none of the idolators (1) may behold her.

And the sun rises at every night's end, ruddy and purple in hue.

Nor does he rise for them of his own accord, but only when tortured and scourged.

He is unable to shorten his course by a single hour, and thus does he march and is he driven all day long.

And as surely as clans will forget what I say, so surely will He Who is not poor remember it.

Pardon then a serwant; it is drinking and gambling (2), joined with vain amusements, that have been the beginning of his sin.

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(1) Lane gives تلدّد the meaning « wait in expectation », which would suit the context here. I prefer, however, to adopt the root meaning « turn aside from something », understanding the implied « something » as a line of conduct or religious belief. This meaning is supported by قَوْمًا لُدًّا of *Koran*, XIX, 97, as well as by the use of لُدٍ as an equivalent of تلدّد in the third last verse of the poem given in *Śu'arâ' an-Naṣrâniya*, p. 227, where the sense of اعمى يلدد is determined by the الاعمى المحيط عن الهدى of v. 29. Needless to say, employment of the same verb in a rare metaphorical sense in both these poems supports the tradition that ascribes them to the same author.

(2) Cf. *Koran*, II, 219; V, 92-3, where الخمر والميسر are jointly condemned. Though the lexicons do not give أيسار or إيسار as an equivalent of ميسر, the meaning here must be the same as in the Koran. أيسار « the gamblers » may be used for ميسر « the game ».

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